

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 NAIROB 05607 101600Z  
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 H-01 INRE-00 IO-13 L-03 PM-05  
ARA-10 EUR-12 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 SSO-00 /055 W  
-----071058 101643Z /46S

O R 10134Z APR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6611  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI  
USINT HAVANA  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO  
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE

C O N F I D E N T I A L NAIROBI 5607

DEPARTMENT ALSO PASS HORN OF AFRICA COLLECTIVE

E. O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PBOR, ET, SO  
SUBJECT: DISCUSSION OF HORN WITH FOREIGN MINISTER WAIYAKI

REF: NAIROBI 5406

1. SUMMARY: DCM AND I CALLED ON FOREIGN MINISTER WAIYAKI APRIL 7 TO HEAR REPORT OF HIS RECENT VISIT TO ETHIOPIA AND TO MAKE DEMARCHE AS INSTRUCTED IN STATE 088087. WAIYAKI HELD DISCUSSION WITH EPMG AND PMAC AND VISITED OGADEN, WHERE HE SAW DESTRUCTION BUT NO REPRISALS. ETHIOPIANS, WHO GREATLY CONCERNED WITH ALLEGED ARAB DESIGNS ON HORN, SAID THEY WOULD TAKE THE WAR TO SOMALIA IF MOGADISCIO SUPPORT OF THE OGADEN INSURGENCY CONTINUES. ETHIOPIA WOULD ALSO INTERVENE TO PREVENT A SOMALI TAKE OVER OF DJIBOUTI. EPMG WOULD GRANT CONSIDERABLE AUTONO- MY TO OGADEN AND ERITREA UNDER ETHIOPIAN SOVERIEGNTY, BUT WILL PURSUE WAR IN ERITREA, WITH CUBAN HELP, IF ERITREANS CONTINUE TO TRY FOR INDEPENDENCE. WAIYAKI BELIEVES THERE GENUINE DESIRE IN ADDIS FOR BETTER RELATIONS WITH US. FOR INFO ON DEMARCH SEE REFTEL.  
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2. IN ADDITION TO TALKING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER, DERG REPRESENTATIVE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND OTHER ETHIOPIAN OFFICIALS, KENYAN GROUP WAS TAKEN TO SEE HARRAR, Diredawa, Jijiga and Gode, in order give them firsthand impression of damage done during fighting. Worst destruction was at Gode, which almost totally destroyed by (according to Ethiopians) retreating Somali troops. Jijiga also heavily damaged, but there was little destruction Diredawa and Harrar.

3. Waiyaki saw no evidence of reprisals, although he was struck by paucity of Somalis in all of towns he visited. He was told that many of the Ogadenis had fled into Somalia with retreating troops. In addition, broadcasts from Radio Mogadiscio describing Ethiopian "genocide" had frightened many of the remaining Ogadenis, who were, consequently, hiding out in hills. Ethiopians claimed have not intention of punishing Ooadenis but hoped, rather, to bring situation back to normal as rapidly as possible.

4. THE FOLLOWING ARE POINTS MADE TO WAIYAKI BY HIS ETHIOPIAN INTERLOCUTORS:

--ETHIOPIAN INTENTIONS TOWARD SOMALIA: ETHIOPIA HAS NOT INTENTION OF INVADING SOMALIA IF SOMALIS CEASE THEIR AGGRESSION, AND ETHIOPIA COVETS "NOT ONE SQUARE INCH OF SOMALI TERRITORY." HOWEVER, IF MOGADISCIO CONTINUES TO INCITE AND SUPPORT THE INSURGENCY IN THE OGADEN, ETHIOPIA WILL TAKE THE WAR TO SOMALIA IN ANY WAY NECESSARY TO STOP SOMALI AGGRESSION. IF NECESSARY ETHIOPIA WILL TAKE WAR TO BERBERA, HARGEISA OR EVEN MOGADISCIO, IF IT TAKES THAT TO CONVINCE SIDA BARRE OF THE FUTILITY OF AGGRESSION AGAINST ETHIOPIA.  
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--DJIBOUTI: ETHIOPIA WILL NOT TOLERATE SOMALI CONTROL OF DJIBOUTI. IF SOMALIA TRIES TO TAKE OVER DJIBOUTI, ETHIOPIA WILL INTERVENE.

--THE CUBANS: ETHIOPIANS GAVE CUBANS FULL RECOGNITION FOR HELPING THEM EXPEL SOMALIS INVADERS. THEY SAID CUBANS WOULD ASSIST IN MILITARY OPERATIONS IN ERITREA, BUT IN FAR LESS NUMBERS THAN IN OGADEN. ETHIOPIANS ENVISAGE CUBANS PRESENCE AS "TEMPORARY" AND SAID THEY EXPECTED CUBANS TO REMAIN NO LONGER THAN TWO YEARS. ETHIOPIANS DECLARED THEY WOULD NOT TOLERATE ANY EXTERNAL PRESSURE TO GET CUBANS

OUT BEFORE EPMG WAS READY FOR THEM TO LEAVE.

--AUTONOMY: ETHIOPIANS STRESSED THEY HAD NOT REFUSED AUTONOMY IN OGADEN OR ERITREA. ON CONTRARY, THEY PERFECTLY READY TO GRANT LARGE MEASURE OF LOCAL AUTONOMY TO BOTH REGIONS UNDER ETHIOPIAN SOVEREIGNTY, ONCE FIGHTING STOPPED. THERE WAS NO QUESTION, HOWEVER, OF INDEPENDENCE FOR EITHER AREA. UNTIL THE ERITREAN LIBERATION GROUPS UNDERSTOOD THIS, THE WAR IN ERITREA WOULD BE PURSUED BY ALL MEANS AT ETHIOPIA'S DISPOSAL.

--THE ARABS: WAIYAKI FOUND THAT THE ETHIOPIANS' GREATEST FEAR WAS OF THE ARABS, WHICH AT TIMES ALMOST SEEMED PARANOID.  
(COMMENT: AS DEPARTMENT WILL RECALL, HIGHLAND ETHIOPIANS HAVE BEEN FIGHTING OFF MOSLEM INVADERS SINCE SEVENTH CENTURY, AND FEAR OF MOSLEM ENCIRCLEMENT OR DOMINATION REMAINS INTEGRAL PART OF ETHIOPIAN MIND SET.) ETHIOPIANS CLAIMED ARABS HAD ONCE AGAIN EMBARKED ON JIHAD AGAINST ETHIOPIA, USING, FOR THE MOMENT SOMALIA AS THEIR INSTRUMENT. ARABS WERE STRIVING FOR TOTAL CONTROL OF RED SEA, TO WHICH ETHIOPIA HAS NO INTENTION OF ACQUIESCING. RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF WAR IN OGADEN WAS INDICATED BY SOMALI MURDER OF CHRISTIANS IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

--RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES: WAIYAKI FOUND WHAT HE BELIEVES TO BE A GENUINE ETHIOPIAN DISILLUSIONMENT THAT THE UNITED STATES "ABANDONED ETHIOPIA" IN ITS HOUR OF NEED WHEN FACING SOMALI AGGRESSION. ETHIOPIANS ARGUED TO WAIYAKI THAT US "SHOULD HAVE UNDERSTOOD" NECESSITY OF SOME MEASURE OF VIOLENCE TO "PROTECT REVOLUTION" AND SHOULD NOT HAVE LET UNREALISTIC CONCERN WITH HUMAN RIGHTS DESTROY TRADITIONAL FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. WAIYAKI SAID HE FELT A REAL DESIRE ON THE PART OF EVERYONE WITH

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WHOM HE TALKED TO REESTABLISH BETTER TIES WITH THE UNITED STATES. HE SAID MANY ETHIOPIANS EXPRESSED SUCH SENTIMENTS OPENLY, EVEN IN THE PRESENCE OF THE MEMBERS OF DERG. WAIYAKI SAID HE HAD IMPRESSION THAT MOST OF WHAT HE WAS TOLD BY ETHIOPIANS WAS INTENDED FOR US CONSUMPTION AS WELL. ETHIOPIANS SPECIFICALLY ASKED WAIYAKI TO GIVE US MESSAGE THAT ETHIOPIA WOULD RETALIATE IF SOMALI SUPPORT FOR INSUREGNC

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CONTINUED OR IF SOMALIA ATTEMPTED INTERFER IN DJIBOUTI, AND THEY ASKED WAIYAKI TO URGE US TO INTERVENE WITH SAUDIS IN HOPES OF TURNING OFF ARAB CAMPAIGN AGAINST ETHIOPIA.

--AGREEMENT: IN RESPONSE TO WAIYAKI QUESTION AS TO STATUS OF AGREEMENT REQUEST, DERG MEMBER IN CHARGE OF FOREIGN RELATIONS PROMISED WAIYAKI THAT MATTER WOULD BE TAKEN UP AGAIN AT NEXT DERG MEETING.

--US AID: ETHIOPIANS TOLD WAIYAKI THAT THEY WOULD WELCOME EXPANSION OF US DEVELOPMENT AID AND MENTIONED PARTICULARLY THEIR NEED FOR HELP WITH TRANSPORT PROBLEMS.

--RED TERROR-WHITE TERROR: ETHIOPIANS ARGUED THAT RED TERROR WAS NECESSARY RESPONSE TO ANTI-GOVERNMENT THREAT FROM EPRP, WHICH, ETHIOPIANS CLAIMED, WAS FAR MORE RADICAL AND FAR MORE INTERNATIONALIST THAN WAS PMAC. WAIYAKI SAID HIS ETHIOPIAN INTERLOCUTORS STRONGLY IMPLIED THAT EPRP REGIME WOULD BE GREATLY MORE

SUVERSIVENT

TO FOREIGN(READ SOVIET) INFLUENCE, WHILE PMAC WAS NATIONALIST AND SOUGHT TO PROMOTE WELFARE OF ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE, NOT WORLD REVOLUTION.

5. COMMENT: AS WE HAVE SO OFTEN STRESSED IN THE PAST, KENYAN SYMPATHIES CLEARLY LIE WITH ETHIOPIA IN ITS CONFLICT WITH SOMALIA. FROM WHAT WE CAN GATHER, THE ETHIOPIANS, FOR THEIR PART, SEEM QUITE DESIROUS OF MAINTAINING CLOSE WORKING TIES WITH NAIROBI. THUS, I BELIEVE THAT THIS WOULD BE A GOOD MEANS OF COMMUNICATION WITH THE PMAC SHOULD WE EVER HAVE NEED OF IT. I AM SURE THE KENYANS WOULD BE HAPPY TO COOPERATE WITH US IF WE ASKED THEM.

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NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED

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NNN

\*\*\* Current Handling Restrictions \*\*\* n/a

\*\*\* Current Classification \*\*\* CONFIDENTIAL

## Message Attributes

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